NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly
10 cents
Vol. 9, No. 43 NEW YORK, AUGUST 12, 1957

Dixiecrats on top in civil rights battle with aid of liberals

By Lawrence Emery

A LITTLE AFTER MIDNIGHT on Aug. 2 the Senate ended its sham battle on civil rights and adopted, 51 to 43, a bill amended to meaninglessness. Western and Northern liberal Democrats won the fight for the Dixie rebels. Sen. Olin D. Johnston (D-S.C.) gave them due credit when he said: "Quite frankly, the South alone would have been beaten to death on this issue without help."

In the vote on the crucial amendment providing jury trials in contempt-of-court cases, 39 Democrats voted for the crippling provision. Only nine Democrats stood up against it.

Two other amendments knocked out a provision that would have permitted a proposed Civil Rights Commission to use volunteer assistance, and made the Commission director subject to Senate confirmation.

UP TO THE HOUSE: The bill as watered down was set for final Senate approval some time during the week of Aug. 12 and was expected to pass with a big majority. Southerners were convinced that the bill in its present form will do nothing to change their ancient way of life, but many would nevertheless vote against it on principle.

The Senate version must now be reconciled with the far stronger measure adopted by the House. The House bill provides for no jury trial in contempt cases and contains a section that would extend Federal court protection to all civil rights in the Constitution and on the books. The House can accept or reject the Senate version, or amend it, or send it to a joint Senate-House conference

(Continued on Page 6)

WHY FILIBUSTER WHEN YOU CAN WIN BY "COMPROMISE"?
Celebrating in a victory team-handshake around quarterback Lyndon Johnson are some of the "liberal" and Dixiecrat Democratic senators who pushed through a phony jury-trial amendment emasculating the Civil Rights Bill. L. to r. are Church (Ida.), O'Mahoney (Wyo.), Johnson (Tex.), Russell (Ga.) and Kefauver (Tenn.). Other "liberals" in the coalition were Gore (Tenn.), Kennedy (Mass.), Magnuson (Wash.), Mansfield (Mont.) and Murray (Mont.).

Tapley in N.Y. Amsterdam News

LAW SUITS IN NEW YORK; MOBS IN CHICAGO

Two Northern fronts open in jimcrow fight

THE BATTLE to drive racism from the schools and rip down ghetto walls was fought last week on Northern as well as Southern battlefields. In Chicago, there was bloody mob violence. In New York City there opened the first Northern court fights in the Clinton pattern, seeking to bring the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions to Harlem, to Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant area and to the tight islands of Negro and Puerto Rican housing in the suburbs.

Northern opposition to integration echoed Southern battle-cries, though necessarily not as stridently in states which, by statute at least, are on the side of integration. There were gradualists, those against "integration by force," "separate-but-equal" advocates and a few outright segregationists who laid down pure Dixie doctrine in Chambers of Commerce meetings.

SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL: The fact of New York's "de facto" jimcrow was summed up in this statistic: Of the 1,000,000 pupils in elementary and junior high schools in New York, three out of every four go to schools that are at least 90% colored or 90% white. In the Negro and Puerto Rican areas of the city, the poorest economically, school buildings are older and more crowded. They have 1,150 of the city's 1,450 new, inexperienced teachers. The Board of Examiners has certified 1,400 new elementary teachers to go to work this September. Most will go into the schools labeled "difficult," while the experienced teachers remain in the 90% white schools.

There are other charges: that education in colored schools is insufficient foundation for higher education, that guidance teachers steer Negro and Puerto Rican children away from further academic study or the professions, persuading them into vocational schools.

STORMY DEBATES: Last winter the Board of Education's Commission on Integration submitted reports which called for staffing the "difficult" schools with experienced teachers, if possible by volunteers from faculties in the white schools, re-zoning where possible to achieve integration, building future schools in "marginal" areas where integration would follow automatically.

At an open hearing last February, most teachers' organizations balked; the Teachers Union was the only one to come out for the integration plan. But Negro organizations rallied to it. Their spokesmen were tough and angry. Edward S. Lewis, director of the N.Y. Urban League, said he found among those "who are

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CASTILLO'S MISRULE IN GUATEMALA

Three-year prelude to a dictator's death

By Elmer Bendiner

FROM THE MOMENT that Carlos Castillo Armas entered the green, rococo Presidential palace in Guatemala three years ago it was plain that his administration could not be serene. He had a formidable job: to cancel land reform in the name of "liberty"; suppress unionists in order to make the trade unions "free"; wipe out all opposition parties by way of substituting democracy for what he called "communism."

Castillo had one unfailing resource: money. More than $68,000,000 of U.S. government aid plus heavy investments from U.S. business poured into the country. But even that tide of dollars brought worries. On all sides sprouted rival colonels and politicos eager to elbow the President out of the way at the public trough.

Bloodshed was in the cards and the elaborate precautions to guard Castillo, who never dared travel outside the capital, indicated a persistent fear that the blood shed might one day be Castillo's own.

THE ASSASSIN: On July 26 a 20-year-old member of the Presidential Guard, Romeo Vasquez Sanchez, switched posts with another guard so that he could have an unobstructed view of the President and his wife as they entered the Palace dining room. As they passed, he lowered his rifle from its position of salute, fired four shots into the President. Then, according to the official communique, he turned the rifle on himself. Both men died instantly.

The Government immediately announced that documents found on Vasquez or in his home constituted "proof that he was a communist." These turned out to be a letter from a woman in charge of Moscow Radio's Latin-American service thanking him for expressing interest in the broadcasts, and a hand-written diary. In it Vasquez called the Soviet Union "first-class socialism" but also referred to it as a "parody of true communism." He called himself a "spiritualist."

Vasquez had been discharged from the

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THE MAIL BAG

Sign the Brief

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

It is good to see these fine Amicus Briefs circulating in behalf of Morton Sobell. One earns a sense of dignity and integrity in signing the Brief and a feeling of responsibility in enlisting signatures and support.

These signatures do more than cry for justice for Sobell. They encourage the Supreme Court justices to continue their efforts to restore America's traditional civil liberties. They assure the court of popular support, offering it a concrete weapon in refuting the demands of reactionary and die-hard critics.

Aaron Katz

Test of a socialist

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I would like to think that the U. S. Supreme Court in freeing Paul Sweezy might have been influenced by the following quotation from his editorial written before the decision, in the July-August issue of **Monthly Review:**

"If one had to pick out a single test by which to separate genuine from pseudo-socialists in our time, surely there can be no doubt that a person's attitude toward the Russian Revolution and the new society that emerged from it is that test. The genuine socialist knows that, whatever crimes and mistakes they may have committed, the Russian Bolsheviks for the first time boldly tackled THE decisive problem of the twentieth century. He knows that, whatever their own successes and failures, the peoples of the Soviet Union have shown mankind the road it must take and by their heroic sacrifices have vastly eased the way for the later starters. Above all, he wants to see Soviet society not destroyed but humanized."

Ellis Colton

Anti-jughead

HANNA, UTAH:

Am sending a dollar, wished it could be more but will have to go a little hungry even for that. But I don't mind for I know I will have to go hungrier than from missing a meal if I miss the GUARDIAN.

You see, I have been cussed, discussed, recussed and blackmailed for not being a good sheep and following the leaders we have in this town and state.

Certain people around here don't like what I write, read and think. But I intend going on and think the way I please as I spent three years in the army during World War II, most of it over the steaming jungles of C. B. I., for that right.

I would like to add another word concerning the bomb tests in Nevada as I live pretty close to the tests. I noticed after the tests for two successive days here a haze hanging around the hills so thick it darkened the sunlight considerably. It also caused a smarting in the eyes, throat and on the skin. I would not mention this if I hadn't experienced the same thing at Hanna two or three years ago when they exploded one of the other big bombs.

Well, one thing: the ones that want the bombs are soaking up as much of it as are the rest of us. We all have to suffer for a few jugheads.

B. A. Chiarelli.

Read the label

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Note the inadequate label, printed in the smallest type, on this enclosed bread label. The bread contains a "dough conditioner."

Reject bread that contains "dough conditioner" and all canned meats that contain that injurious chemical, sodium nitrate.

W. P. C.

Tranquility

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Why don't you do your share to rid the world of the fear of communists by starting a fund to provide FREE THORAZINE TO THE FREE WORLD?

Clara Promazine

Oily questions

PITTSBURGH, PA.

During the period of the Suez Canal shut-down, a committee of large oil company representatives received anti-trust immunity in order to route oil to Europe. Subsequently, U.S. gasoline prices were raised because of a "shortage."

Last February and March, the House Commerce Committee conducted hearings into the situation. On page 426 of the published hearings, Asst. Sec. of Interior Wormser together with his subordinate, Dir. Stewart of the office of Oil and Gas, stated that they made no effort to ascertain whether Mexican oil was available in the "emergency."

During this same period, U.S. Congressmen were receiving the annual report by Sen. Bermudez of the Mexican Oil Co., indicating that surplus oil was available for export. Mr. Stewart stated he had not read Sen. Bermudez' annual report. Further, no data regarding Mexican capabilities was furnished to the U.S. oil company committee because, said Mr. Stewart, "it simply didn't occur to us."

Question: Is the U.S. Dept. of Interior subject to the large oil companies? Is the U.S. Dept. of Interior still punishing Mexico for its nationalization of oil properties in 1937?

Name Withheld

Top to bottom

GRAND JUNCTION, MICH.

If that soldier in Formosa didn't want people looking at his wife taking a shower, instead of killing the peeper why didn't he give her a couple of spanks where she is fat and tell her to pull the shades down?

That would be more sensible than killing and starting an international riot and making enemies.

From top to bottom Americans seem to be poor diplomats.

George H. Smith

High-time

ERWIN, TENN.

In **The Folklore of Capitalism,** by Thurman Arnold, occurs this rather keen observation: "Liberal movements always die in a time when the folklore is questioned. They rise again when men think they know what the eternal verities are, and therefore can find a firm platform from which to attack the continual backsliding from those verities."

To put it in simpler form: it's about time, ain't it, that the people of the USA woke up to the continual idiocy and roguery of the "Cadillac Cabinet" in Washington and put in a government with some regard for principle and the rights and needs of the common people. **Ernest Seeman**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Supposing the Soviets elect to make their initial attack where the radioactive fallout will not be wasted, as it would be at sea. So they attack U.S. land targets, and the U.S. counters against Soviet bases, and both are destroyed. At the end of this massive attack, who's left? We're left—the Navy.

—Adm. Arleigh A. Burke
This Week, 7/28

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with every entry. Winner this week: H. Roberts, San Francisco, Calif.

Wall Street Journal

"The point is, how do we know you didn't fall down the elevator shaft deliberately?"

The rights of aliens

ELSINORE, CALIF.

America welcomes expatriates from other lands who have failed their countries in critical tests while expelling as unworthy those who have measured up to every attribute of citizenship.

The Republic, strong in productive capacity of its workers and its great natural resources, with hand outstretched for peace and commerce with every country, need not fear either native or alien advocating ideals for social change. The founders foresaw the stress and strain of government, and provided for protection of aliens. The musty trappings of monarchy or the brutality of greedy imperialism are not for us. The "American Way," provided by the Constitution, is, first, the advocacy of change, then analysis and free discussion, then decision when the people speak. **Harry F. Kane**

Pen-pals wanted

DEHIWALA, CEYLON

I am a young Ceylonese who would like to correspond with young Americans (of either sex) who are interested in Asia and its peoples. I would particularly like to hear from those who are roving journalists and others interested in travel in these regions.

K. Samaraturga
201 Allan Avenue
Dehiwala, Ceylon

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

Published weekly by Weekly Guardian Associates, Inc., 197 E. 4th St., N.Y. 9, N.Y. Telephone: ORegon 3-3800

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: U. S. & possessions, Canada, Latin America, Philippine Islands, $3 a year. First class and air mail on request. United Kingdom one guinea a year payable to GUARDIAN London Bureau, 10 Talbot Sq., London W2, England; otherwise $4 a year overseas. GUARDIAN Paris Bureau, 103, avenue de Gravelle, St. Maurice (Seine), France. Single copies 10c. Re-entered as second class matter Feb. 20, 1953, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, *Editor-in-Exile* JOHN T. McMANUS, *General Manager* JAMES ARONSON, *Editor*

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Vol. 9, No. 43 401 August 12, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

Have fun, but don't forget—

IF YOU'RE ENJOYING A CAREFREE SUMMER, fine! You've undoubtedly earned it. But there are others—people of concern to you, we think—whose summers (and futures) are by no means free from care. We urge a thought for some of these now, backed up with much-needed contributions for struggles-in-progress, summer or no.

● Judy and Grady Jenkins and their two infant children, of New Orleans, face the task against fearful odds of mounting a defense against indictments under Louisiana's "subversive" laws for carrying on an unrelenting fight against their state's segregation practices. Grady Jenkins, most will remember, was chained to his hospital bed, where he lay helpless with tuberculosis, when the indictment against him was handed down.

Mrs. Anita Block of New York, author, lecturer and one-time associate editor of the old Socialist **Call,** has undertaken chairmanship of a national Committee to Defend Grady and Judy Jenkins. Contributions should be sent to Jack Shulman, treasurer, 860 Riverside Dr., New York 32, N.Y.

● Attorney George Shibley of Long Beach, Calif., has been in jail since January on a three-year sentence for "contempt" of a Marine Corps court before which he was illegally hauled by force after his successful defense of a Marine sergeant court-martialed for "interfering with private enterprise" by giving lifts to fellow Marines at the El Toro base.

The implications of Shibley's imprisonment have aroused lawyers and others all over the country; and perhaps some day the principles at issue—military interference with civilians and the right of military personnel to legal representation without harassment, not to mention frameup and railroading tactics used against Shibley—will be aired before an appropriate tribunal.

Today, however, the only recourse for Shibley is executive clemency. The Shibley Defense Committee, headed by the ex-Marine he defended, asks signatures to a clemency petition to President Eisenhower. The Committee's address: Box 748, Long Beach, Calif.

● In Cleveland eight people face trial for conspiracy to falsify Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavits of two of them, Fred and Marie Haug, husband and wife, when they were trade union officers more than five years ago. The Supreme Court has reversed two T-H convictions, those of Ben Gold and Clinton Jencks, thus probably terminating other similar T-H convictions now under appeal in lower courts. The "conspiracy" approach, if successful, would circumvent the Supreme Court's rejection of past T-H prosecution procedures. Contributions may be sent to the Haugs, 14720 Milverton Rd., Cleveland 20, Ohio.

● The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born has won a partial stay of a two-month-old injunction preventing it from raising funds in New York. The law invoked was one aimed at charity rackets but the prosecution has made it clear that it seeks to put the Committee out of business as "subversive."

The ACPFB is now permitted to raise funds for office maintenance and its own defense against the N.Y. State attack, pending further hearings in September. Contributions may be sent to the Committee at 49 E. 21 St., New York 10, N.Y.

AT PRESS TIME, pacifists representing Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons were planning civil disobedience against bomb tests scheduled for this week at Las Vegas. Coordinator of the action, former Baptist minister and now Quaker Lawrence Scott, said the group expected to be arrested but that they believe, with India's late Mahatma Gandhi, "that disobedience to the law of the state becomes a duty when it comes in conflict with the law of God." The group may be addressed at Room 1601, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.; or 236 West Utah Ave., Las Vegas, Nev.

●

We have been rebuked by a reader for not writing up the Welcome Home meeting at Carnegie Hall July 24 for the recently-released Communist leaders imprisoned under the Smith Act. It was a fine meeting (1,600 people turned out on a broiling summer night); the returned all seemed in good fighting trim; the one everyone wanted to hear most, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, spoke last and briefly, promising to have plenty more to say later. The GUARDIAN's John T. McManus was among the welcoming speakers. Enough said?

—THE GUARDIAN

OPPOSITION WIDESPREAD BUT DISJOINTED

Lebanese government plays U.S. game in Middle East

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

BEIRUT, LEBANON

FROM ALEPPO in Syria, near the Turkish border, the road runs through barren, dusty plains and occasional crowded towns and villages to the borders of Lebanon. In Syria our cab journey was uneventful. After clearing Lebanese customs and border security around midnight, we sped towards the mountains and Beirut. Suddenly the car skidded to a halt before a roadblock of two armed cars. Helmeted soldiers, waving guns, ordered the male passengers out and questioned them with powerful flashlights fixed on their eyes. They and our car were searched. Twice more before reaching Beirut we were stopped by similar roadblocks. The searches, I learned later, were part of the government's campaign to bolster its charges that Syria is smuggling arms into Lebanon.

The impression of a country dominated by petty gangsters proved lasting. Almost the first person I encountered at National Front headquarters (the opposition in the recent elections), was a woman whose two sons had been arrested for trying to vote for opposition candidates. Another chance meeting was with a man who had just spent 12 days in jail. His crime: he had worked for the opposition. Such arrests were said to be commonplace and were easy to believe with the newspapers reporting cabinet approval of a law permitting "preventive arrest" of newsmen. Detailed stories of the government's use of police and gendarmerie—and its hiring of known outlaws—to terrorize the people into a "Ja" vote were heard everywhere.

A MAN'S PRICE: The biggest scandal took place the day I reached Beirut. Fouad Ghosn, the candidate opposing Foreign Minister Charles Malik in a North Lebanon district, announced his withdrawal 15 minutes before the expiration of the deadline. His move followed two calls made by the American ambassador at the President's residence and a 7-hour session among Ghosn, Malik and President Chamoun. The price of Ghosn's withdrawal was said to be $300,000.

The scandal was on every tongue, for "McCarthy" Malik, as he is known here, is easily the most despised man in the country. His closest rival for this distinction appears to be President Chamoun. Malik is frequently referred to as the "Voice of America."

Here "Malikism" means labelling as "communist" anyone who criticizes U.S. policy. But it is not effective. Three opposition leaders—Saeb Salam, Abdallah Yafi and Houssein Ouwyny—all former premiers, laughingly introduced themselves to me as "Lebanon's three leading communists and public enemies No. 1 of the U.S. State Dept." Their comments on U.S. policy were bitter. This is the more noteworthy since the opposition is generally led by conservative politicians or feudal lords. Only the rich can afford election to Parliament in a country where political parties scarcely exist in the Western sense.

THAT BRINK AGAIN: Saeb Salam said bluntly: "American policy has estranged all its friends. Your are fooling yourselves if you blame this estrangement on the communists. It is a bulldozer policy crushing all before it. The feeling against America is getting stronger every day."

Yafi added: "If Dulles continues to divide the world into pro-Americans and communists, with nothing in between, he will throw us all over the brink. The U.S. is leading the world to catastrophe."

The National Front is a loose organization of diverse trends which came together in the train of events after the invasion of Egypt. When President Chamoun, in defiance of a cabinet decision, refused to cut off relations with Britain and France, Yafi, then premier, and Salam, Minister of State, resigned. The new government won a vote of confidence and Chamoun proclaimed support of the Eisenhower Doctrine.

This action crystallized the opposition of those who had watched with growing resentment the government's flirtation with the Baghdad Pact. They regarded this as a violation of Lebanon's "traditional role as peacemaker and mediator" with other Arab countries.

RELIGIOUS ISSUE: The Front's stand is that Lebanon, as an Arab country, must develop economic, political, cultural ties with other Arab countries and remain free of pacts with West or East. The identification is with the national movement led by Egypt's President Nasser. But not all the opposition agrees. Some, like the right-wing socialists, are inclined to favor the Eisenhower Doctrine.

Many joined the National Front because of their opposition to Chamoun's "dictatorship" and what they assert is a "deliberate American-inspired policy of trying to divide Moslems and Christians." Ahmed Assad, a rich landowner from the South, who has served continuously in Parliament since 1936, told me:

"Chamoun is trying to destroy our unity by telling the Christians: 'The Moslems will kill you.' We Moslems, and Christians, have lived together as brothers for centuries. There are no differences between the communities. This unity is our life. To destroy it is to destroy our country."

ONLY THE RICH GET EISENHOWER CADILLACS
The people in Beirut still rely on donkeys to haul their goods

A Lebanese writer, active in the peace movement, complained bitterly of "the U.S. effort to incite religious dissensions. The government, pushed by the Americans, has made these elections take the form of a defiance of the Moslems. All the leading Moslem candidates except one were defeated. In Beirut it was a catastrophe."

THE MANIPULATORS: How were the election results achieved? Assad, a powerful politician, described what happened in South Lebanon. Chamoun, who should have been neutral, visited his district to tell people to vote against Assad, called local chiefs to the Presidency warning them to bring in a victory for the government. Security police and gendarmerie came into the district. Eight were killed; 1,000 were imprisoned, beaten, fined. On election day many persons were prevented from going to the polls. Government decrees shifted villages from one district to another so that, even though Assad's lists got 33,000 votes to the government's 25,000, "we lost and they won." In one village with 764 votes, every vote went to the government, although Assad won there often.

One of the most significant votes was that for Antoun Thabet, a leading figure in the peace movement. Although he spent not a piastre, had no car and no watchers at the polls, he won 11,052 votes in Beirut's first district (winners got 17,000). His vote was interpreted as a direct protest against U.S. policy.

BRITISH ARE ACTIVE: According to opposition leaders, another significant fact was that "although the Americans paid the bribes, British agents were elected." Salam admitted that "there was a period when the British allowed their agents to play the American role." But this does not pertain now; the British are working feverishly, it is believed here, to cash in on the opposition to American policy to restore some of their lost prestige in the Middle East. Opposition leaders say that Chamoun, "who was always a British agent but on a higher level," has outfoxed the Americans.

The appearance of the opposition here is a tribute to the self-defeating nature of U.S. policy as well as to the attraction of the Arab national movement. But where the opposition is going is by no means clear. Saudi Arabia's King Saud has attempted to "mediate" with opposition leaders but he may have deepened differences within the National Front.

Front leaders assert they will continue to fight "to restore law and order, end the rule of gangsterism, and return to Lebanon's old policy of being friendly to everybody but under directions from no one." But concrete plans and program are still lacking. Whatever develops, however, this revolt by largely conservative and wealthy Lebanese, assisted as they may be by left organizations, would seem to be the handwriting on the wall for present U.S. policy in the Middle East.

SNATCHED BY U. S. FROM MEXICAN HAVEN

Five anti-fascists fight return to Franco Spain

THE U.S. NAVY was charged in a Los Angeles Federal Court this month with kidnapping from Mexico five Spanish anti-fascist sailors in an effort to return them to Franco Spain where they may face imprisonment, torture and possibly death.

The five—Enrique Medina Fernandez, Gines Martinez, Victor Rodriquez, Manuel Fernandez Rodriquez and Augustine Cabrera Oroza—came ashore when three Spanish destroyers on a training cruise docked at San Ysidro, Calif., on July 4. They slipped over the border to Tijuana, Mexico, and claimed political asylum. Mexico, which has no diplomatic relations with Franco Spain, has been a refuge for many Spanish anti-fascists.

A Spanish naval captain and a U.S. Navy shore patrol tried in vain to persuade the men to return voluntarily from Mexico. The Mexican Ministry of Foreign Relations said there was no evidence

of political persecution and the men were brought back to the U.S. in the custody of U.S. naval authorities. A member of the American Civil Liberties Union learned of the sailors' plight from a newspaper item. The ACLU then sought their release in proceedings before Federal Judge Thurmond Clarke in Los Angeles.

LONG DREAM: Civil rights attorney A. L. Wirin charged in court that U.S. Naval and Immigration officials along with Mexican authorities had persuaded the seamen to sign a document they did not understand, which in effect asked that they be returned to the U.S. Wirin called the document fraudulent, said the Navy had acted "completely outside the law" and that the men were virtually shanghaied. In some respects the seizure of the men recalled the manner in which Morton Sobell has described his own removal from Mexico.

While the hearings were on in Judge Clarke's court the Mexican government reversed its earlier ruling and announced it would admit the sailors to sanctuary as refugees. The men appeared in court under heavy guard of U.S. sailors and Marines and were permitted no chance to talk with newsmen. They testified that they feared imprisonment and death if they were returned to Spain. A N.Y. Post correspondent quoted one of them as saying: "We have dreamed of getting away from the Franco regime all our lives."

LAST-MINUTE STAY: On Aug. 1 Judge Clarke ruled that they were subject to the terms of a 1902 treaty with Spain governing the return of military deserters and ordered them returned to their ships. On Aug. 3 attorney Wirin won a last-minute restraining order from Judge Clarke giving him 10 days to appeal to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco.

Wirin said that if necessary he would ask for a further stay on Aug. 12. Meanwhile the Navy turned the men over to the Immigration and Naturalization Service which is holding them as "aliens illegally in this country."

'MUST WE PUT UP WITH THAT?'

Polish press in campaign against local bureaucracy

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian
WARSAW

RETURNING TO POLAND after an absence of 10 months—months which in historical terms introduced the most profound changes in Poland's post-war life—my first impressions were how little it had changed, at least from the way it had appeared to me during those dramatic months before the October Revolution. The political discussion which by the summer of 1956 had reached its peak continues with full vigor, although the emphasis today has shifted somewhat from theory to day-to-day practice. Discussion is as free and unfettered as in any country I have known, with the possible exception of foreign policy issues where a certain caution prevails. Censorship, which still exists, came to a virtual end long before October as far as domestic problems were concerned.

Newspapermen and women write as they please, and what they please at times gives little pleasure to the local bureaucracy. Today almost every paper in the country is running a campaign against examples of inefficiency, bureaucratic abuses, low wages and other public discontents. One example: **Expres Wieczorny**, Warsaw's most widely read evening paper, has for some time been mounting a campaign under the heading "Must we put up with that?" Must we put up with coffee that tastes like dishwater? Bad service in all public restaurants? Long queues in every **Delicatesy** and at every bus stop? Escalators in department stores which have never run?

MAKE IT WORK AT HOME: Poles have decided that they must first deal with malpractices at home rather than attempt to solve the issues of world socialism; that their greatest contribution to socialism will be to make it work at home.

Larger political and economic issues, of course, continue to find full coverage in the press, and the recent ouster of the Old Guard from the Presidium of the Soviet Union gave rise to a spate of comments. **Tribuna Ludu**, the CP central organ, headlined its editorial: "The Victory of the New." Apart from the ouster of Malenkov—which observers here fail to understand unless it is based on a personal rivalry with Khrushchev—the changes in Moscow are warmly welcomed. The hope is expressed everywhere that they will bring about not only a lessening of international tension but greater understanding of Poland and the aspirations of other socialist states—especially Hungary, whose tragedy is felt keenly by every Pole.

Freedom of the press seems far more secure today, despite the fact that censorship is still on the books. "We fight it continuously," the editor of one of Poland's largest papers told me. "As journalists we must fight for the complete freedom of the press, but we must also develop a sense of responsibility." (This emphasis on responsibility and self-discipline one finds everywhere in Poland today.) The press on the whole is as interesting, lively and on as high a level as the best in the West.

A SENSE OF RELIEF: The general atmosphere has changed as well. The tension and high-pitched excitement of last year has given way to a certain quiet joy of living. There is no smugness; there is an almost universal sense of relief. This relaxation is as much emotional as intellectual and material. There is an element of security based on the fact that Poland today is more nearly the master of her own house than at any time since the final partition at the end of the 18th century.

IN WARSAW NEARLY EVERYBODY READS . . .
Censorship of the press has relaxed, particularly on domestic issues

Intellectually, there has been such a vast broadening of views in the last two years, and not only in Poland proper. The ever-increasing cultural and scientific contacts with the rest of the world—and especially the Western world—have helped enormously to increase the sense of belonging. Polish artists and actors have performed abroad, one of the most successful groups being Warsaw's Yiddish Theatre, which had a season both in Paris and London. Warsovians, in turn, have been treated to such a variety as the Comédie Francaise, the Shakespeare Memorial Theater, featuring Sir Laurence Olivier (who charmed an entire nation), and the Cleveland Orchestra, which received the longest standing ovation in the memory of Warsaw music lovers.

THE BIG CHANGE: Materially speaking, my first impression was one of change: Everybody, and especially the women, seems better dressed. More consumer goods are available and wages have increased in many branches of the economy. But basic necessities have not increased in cost, so that now there is a little more money available for clothes and shoes and accessories. Fruits and flowers abound and at reasonable cost. The economic problems—which are still very grave—appear a little less worrisome.

Yet, how profoundly things have changed—not in the last 10 months but in the last few years—became clear to me in a talk with an old friend whom I first knew as a diplomat abroad. Since then he had spent three years in prison on charges of high treason. He was released 2½ years ago and rehabilitated 18 months later. Today he is getting ready to leave as Poland's ambassador to a great Asian power while the man responsible for his conviction awaits trial here this summer.

"He was an honest man," my friend said. "He thought he was serving the Party. And I am glad that he at least will have a fair and public trial and legal counsel." This generosity of spirit reflects the atmosphere in Poland today. There have been no excutions here for many years and no political arrests since October.

Jimcrow fight

(Continued from Page 1)

supposed to make this program work some excellent prototypes of the White Citizens Councils."

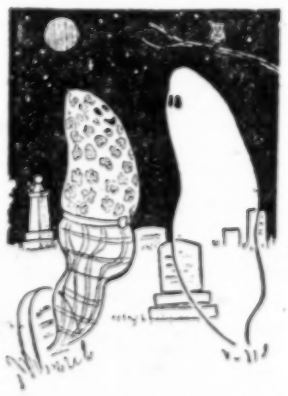
The reports were adopted by the Board with "reservations." What that meant was revealed last month when Supt. of Schools William Jansen made public his plan of action. It assured the city that no children would be transported by buses to effect integration, even if the children and parents were willing. Redistricting would be left in the hands of associate superintendents. The principle of keeping the schools as neighborhood institutions would take precedence over integration. The plan was discussed at a stormy meeting of the Board on July 25 and several Negro members of the Commission on Integration threatened to resign.

Later Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, psychology professor at City College and a member of the Commission, called it a "unanimous revolt." He said: "We feel that the Superintendent is deliberately confusing, delaying, distorting and side-tracking the reports of our commission. . . . The people of New York will not tolerate this sabotage."

ACTION DEMANDED: The Urban League's director Lewis charged that the Board was "sitting on its hands while Supt. of Schools William Jansen tears the heart out of the nation's most comprehensive school integration program." Earlier in the summer delegations representing the NAACP, the Negro Teachers Assn. and the Parents Committee for Better Education had told Mayor Wagner they were "tired of promises," of a "watered-down" curriculum in separate schools.

They charged that there had been no real effort to get teachers to volunteer for schools in non-white areas. Of 40,000 teachers in the school system, only 25 had asked for such assignments by mid-July.

THE SEGREGATORS: The Board had



N. Y. Herald Tribune
"I didn't want to be mistaken for the Ku Klux Klan."

wiped out other promises of the integration commission's winter report. The new school budget allocated sums for school sites that seemed likely to perpetuate segregation. Rose Russell, legislative director of the Teachers Union, called the proposals "deeply disappointing."

Meanwhile Chambers of Commerce in suburbs where some white families had fled as color barriers began to crumble in Manhattan, rallied against what they called "forced integration." They were the same groups that had whipped up the red scare that decimated the city's teaching staff, the ones that led the successful fight to destroy legislation that would have outlawed segregation in private housing.

Last January parents in East Queens received in the mail leaflet reprints of a speech by Georgia's Atty. Gen. Eugene Cook, denouncing the NAACP. The envelopes revealed no source but carried a Queens postmark. Other Queens residents received a newsletter from Merwin K. Hart of the National Economics Council, a virulently reactionary organization. It was titled: "The Red Hand in New York Schools."

The answer of embattled Negro parents to the official runaround and the rabid race-haters was a series of law suits that could have repercussions in many parts of the country.

ATTACK ZONING SYSTEM: Mrs. Mae Mallory was the first to file in the state Supreme Court to compel the Board to allow her 12-year-old daughter Leola to attend school outside her district. Her attorney, Paul B. Zuber, charged that the school to which Leola was assigned for next September, P.S. 88, an all-Negro junior high school at 117th St. and St. Nicholas Av., is inadequately staffed, lacks a well oriented curriculum and has a building that is substandard and hazardous. But his petition adds that even if those conditions were rectified Leola's schooling would still be inferior because it would be segregated.

Citing the U. S. Supreme Court's ruling declaring separate but equal facilities unconstitutional, he challenges the legality of the Board's zoning policy.

A similar suit was filed by Mr. and Mrs. William Robinson of the Bronx who also retained Mr. Zuber. The **Amsterdam News** reported that 25 additional desegregation suits would be filed charging that the zoning system "provides a private education for white children in a public school system." Mr. Zuber said he hopes to have a ruling before the fall term opens.

CHICAGO VIOLENCE: "Permissive zoning" has been offered as a way out—allowing children to attend out-of-zone schools when parents request it. The N.Y. **Times** education editor Benjamin Fine reported it was successfully tried in "border" cities such as St. Louis and Louisville. Contrary to official fears, few white families asked to transfer their children out of integrated schools. Negro families instead won transfers of their children into hitherto white schools.

In Chicago the battle was being fought with clubs and stones. For four years gangs of whites have smashed the windows, wrecked the furniture, terrorized the dozen Negro families in the Trumbull Park Housing project. On Sunday, July 21, a Negro mothers' club picnic at nearby Calumet Park was broken up by whites. Police rejected all complaints, told the women they should have picnicked elsewhere.

The following Sunday, July 28, white youths stoned, knifed and clubbed a picnic party of the Bodine Social and Civic Club, a Negro group of about 75 people. The club's secretary, Leo Blackburn, said the Negroes used bottles and baseball bats to protect their women and children. At least 35 were reported injured, 34 of them Negroes including one two-year-old.

CLEAR WARNING: Police arrived 20 minutes after the fighting started and by then more than 500 were involved in the riot. White boys pulled Negro drivers from buses and trucks and beat them almost to unconsciousness.. Police arrested 35, including five Negroes charged with "carrying concealed weapons." The whites were charged with "disturbing the peace," a misdemeanor. Most of the whites, who were under 16, were assigned to family court and released in $25 bond. Two others, aged 17 and 18, had bail set at $100.

The **Defender**, a Negro daily in Chicago, warned editorially: "Distressing as these clashes are, nevertheless they are no more ominous than the apathy, indifference and even connivance exhibited by the Park District Police. And when you add to that attitude the indefensible laxity of the courts in dealing with those guilty of trampling on the rights of Negro citizens, the picture is not reassuring. The explosive effect of accumulative grievances may shatter all precedents of blood spilled in racial strife born out of an untenable and intolerable Hitler concept of the 'superior race'. . . . Smoldering resentment may flare up any moment like prairie fires searing everything in its path."

GOP POLITICS: THE OPPORTUNIST VS. THE OLD GUARD

Knowland defies Ike and Nixon in 1960 bid

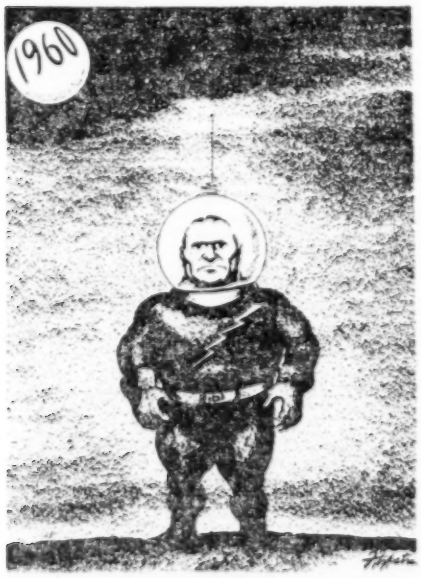
By Martin Hall
Special to the Guardian

LOS ANGELES

POLITICAL OBSERVERS all over the nation are watching the cat-and-dog fight among three leading California Republicans — Vice President Richard M. Nixon, Sen. William F. Knowland and Gov. Goodwin Knight—for control of the California delegation to the 1960 G.O.P. convention. What is developing now within the badly-split California Republican Party may turn into a significant prelude to the 1960 Presidential race. The powers behind two of these men, Nixon and Knowland, are playing for high stakes. They hope to put their man in the White House.

California, the fastest-growing state in the West, is already prominently represented on the top national level in the offices of the Vice President, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and the leader of the Republican minority in the U.S. Senate. Chief Justice Earl Warren, the former Governor of California, who a few years ago was seriously considered as a Presidential candidate, seems to have decided to make his mark on the Supreme Court rather than in national politics. He has made an excellent beginning.

THE NIXON DRIVE: That leaves Nixon and Knowland, California's senior Senator. Both have been badly bitten by the Presidential bug. These two, who until recently seemed to have few differences in political outlook, have vastly different personalities. Richard Milhous Nixon, the "little boy who made good," is a political upstart. Driven by a boundless personal



Fitzpatarick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Flash Knowland is ready

ambition which has never been hampered by scruples, he rode the crest of the wave of anti-red hysteria right up to the second highest position in the U.S. Government and placed himself "one heart-beat away from the White House." From a Senate seat won in a sensational campaign of character assassination that symbolized the McCarthy era, he won the Vice Presidential nomination. Elected with Gen. Eisenhower, he managed to gain the confidence and fatherly affection of the President to such an extent that he now is obviously being groomed by the palace guard as the heir-apparent to the White House.

To achieve his end Nixon had to drop his early rough-and-tumble style and assume the dignity of a statesman. To permit some of the glory of the President's great personal popularity to reflect on himself, he had to become something of a younger edition of Mr. Eisenhower as the leader of that amorphous thing called "modern Republicanism." It is here that he may have made a fateful mistake.

IKE'S INFLUENCE: For the Republican

HOW TO BE AN OPPORTUNIST IN STATESMAN'S CLOTHING
Nixon's problem, if he is to succeed Eisenhower, is to live down his dirty-fighter reputation and bill himself as a straight-shooter. He may have gotten some good advice from W. Germany's Chancellor Adenauer when they met in Washington earlier this year.

old guard has become increasingly suspicious of what they unsmilingly call Ike's "New Dealism." Whatever Mr. Eisenhower's ideas were when he announced in 1956 his intention to "remake" the Republican Party, the results have not been encouraging. Perhaps the main reason ironically has been the successful Republican move under President Truman to push through a Constitutional Amendment limiting the Presidency to two terms. That makes Mr. Eisenhower a lame-duck President long before his second term is over. It robs him of a powerful instrument to assert his leadership over the party. It is hard to say how many present Republican members of Congress would be in Washington today if they had not ridden in on the coat-tails of the President. That will not happen again: whoever is the Republican candidate in 1960, it will not be anyone with half the President's personal appeal. The Republican politicians know well that next time around they will have to run on their own. Those who felt it prudent to minimize their disagreements with Ike's policies feel no such compunction any longer. The result has been clear in the growing difficulties of the Administration in getting support among the Republicans in Congress for White House bills.

THE KNOWLAND DRIVE: That is where William Fife Knowland comes into the picture. The man who more than symbolically succeeded the late Senator Taft as leader of his party in the Senate is no lover of "modern Republicanism." He has not hesitated to voice his open disagreements with the President domestically, and even more so in foreign affairs. Knowland, with all his narrowness and with his many antediluvian ideas, has principles of a sort. He is not Nixon's kind of opportunist.

There is little of the spectacular in the political career of the son of the publisher of the Oakland **Tribune.** He was born a politician. At 12 he campaigned for the Harding-Coolidge ticket. At 16 he was head of the finance committee of the Coolidge-Dawes Republican Club of Alameda. At 22 he became a member of the Republican State Central Committee.

After that he really picked up speed. At 24 he was California's youngest State Assemblyman, at 26 its youngest State Senator. Four years later he was elected Republican National Committeeman for California. At 33 he became chairman of the executive committee of the Natl. Republican Committee. Untiring energy, faithfulness to his job, a plodding kind of ambition — and money — have brought him up the political ladder.

A DIFFERENT GAME: He was serving as major in the U.S. Army in Europe when he read in **Stars and Stripes** that his father's lifelong friend, Gov. Warren, had appointed him to succeed the late Sen. Hiram Johnson in Washington. He has been re-elected easily, the last time winning the endorsement of both major parties under California's cross-filing provisions. Both as Senate Majority Leader and later as Minority Leader he has made valuable and lasting connections with his colleagues from all parts of the nation.

Such a man, by his very nature, cannot have been favorably impressed by the meteoric career of a Nixon, who achieved within a few years what had taken Knowland decades to get, and then proceeded to leave Knowland behind. Nor did Knowland apparently feel at any time that he needed the President's endorsement to maintain his hard-won position in the G.O.P. Knowland supported McCarthy in his accusations against the State Dept. of alleged "laxity towards Communists" at a time when the President felt compelled to defend Dulles on this score. He supported the Bricker Amendment which the White House considered a serious curtailment of the President's treaty-making power. He has threatened that, if ever the United Nations should admit People's China, he would resign and tour the country to build up public pressure to force the U.S. out of the UN. In recent months Knowland has become more and more the spokesman for the extreme right wing of the G.O.P., which demands a return to the traditional policies of Taft as the only way to a Republican victory in 1956.

NEXT WEEK: Where does Knight fit in?

Smoke Signal

Editor—Now that the Russians have interdicted smoking as a form of psychopathology atavism it is the implacable duty of every loyal American to combat this nefarious propaganda by smoking twice, nay, thrice, as much.

To paraphrase: "I regret that I have only one pair of lungs to give for my country." D. J. TEPPER.
—letter in San Francisco **Chronicle**

STORY OF A FALLEN PIGEON

Government drops Wright as witness in Pittsburgh cases

ISAAC ALEXANDER WRIGHT—leader of the Progressive Party in Western Pennsylvania from 1948 to 1954—turned up in December, 1955, as a government witness against the Cleveland Smith Act victims and admitted being an FBI plant in the progressive movement since the early 1940's. Last May he testified against United Electrical Worker officials in a proceeding before the Subversive Activities Control Board seeking to list the union as "communist-infiltrated." The Dept. of Justice at that time said it had paid him $27,856.25 as an undercover agent. The UE exposed Wright so thoroughly as a liar that the hearing officer last month demanded an affidavit from the Justice Dept. that it would not use witnesses giving "contrived testimony." The government moved to appeal this demand to the full SACB Board and the UE hearings were put off indefinitely.

Nevertheless Brownell continued to use Wright as a witness in other proceedings and he was expected to be the main witness this fall in the re-trial of the Pittsburgh Smith Act defendants whose convictions were reversed by the Supreme Court last October when the government itself admitted the testimony of FBI witness Joseph Mazzei to be tainted.

JOINS THE FALLEN: Last week 75-year-old Alex Wright suddenly found himself the latest on the long list of discredited government witnesses. During late July Wright had been testifying in Pittsburgh in an SACB proceeding to list the now-defunct Committee to End Sedition Laws as a subversive organization. (The Committee went out of business last year when the Supreme Court ruled all state sedition laws to have been superseded by the Smith Act.) Hyman Schlesinger, counsel for the Committee, caught Wright in several serious contradictions. Finally during cross-examination, Schlesinger asked Wright to identify a hand-written manuscript. Wright identified the handwriting as his. The manuscript turned out to be some 150 pages of an unpublished "autobiography" containing material which the hearing officer refused to admit into the record. The hearing was abruptly suspended until Sept. 15.

On July 31, Atty. Gen. Brownell filed a petition with the SACB in Washington asking that Wright's testimony be stricken from the record. Two days later, Brownell went himself one better and moved to terminate the entire proceeding.

ASK DISMISSAL: Alex Wright's downfall leaves Brownell with no known witnesses to offer in the government's apparent determination to proceed with new trials for the Pittsburgh Smith Act defendants. Trial date has been set for Oct. 8 by Federal Judge Marsh.

A definition of 'modern Republicanism'

PHONY LIBERALS in the Republican Party bear the distinguished moniker of "modern Republicans." It's like watching a bullet in full career turn into ice cream to watch the emergence of these "modern Republicans." You're Knight or Nixon, and then all of a sudden you ain't: you're a "modern Republican."

But hand it to Knowland. He knows the real nature of the GOP. And he's getting the support of the real dirt in the grand old party. People here in the East Bay are receiving letters from Robert E. Wood, chairman, Sears Roebuck, calling their attention to the disclosures by the McClellan Committee, to the "spontaneous mass uprising" against the President's budget. . . .

It's plain enough that the real dirt in the GOP is getting ready to put the real dirt in the White House, no more phony liberalism. A sure shot way to fail that test is to fall for either the real dirt or the phony liberalism in the knightnixonknowland war.

—East Bay (Calif.) **Labor Journal**

Guatemala story

(Continued from Page 1)

Army in 1955 for "communist ideology" and fired from the Guatemalan TV network as a "suspicious person." How he turned up in the President's Guard was unexplained. A communique said nine other Presidential guardsmen were under arrest for possible complicity in the assassination.

THE MARTYR: Official mourning spread to Washington and New York where Cardinal Spellman offered a high mass for Castillo. President Eisenhower sent his son Major John Eisenhower to represent him at the funeral in Guatemala. The Washington **Post** set a pious keynote for the nation's editorials, calling Castillo a "martyr in the cause of freedom."

It didn't look very much like freedom when Castillo was "elected" President on Sept. 1, 1954. All opposition had been outlawed. The voters had to file by a line of soldiers at the polls and shout out either "Yes" or "No."

Wages began to drop almost at once from the $1 a day scale set in the administration of Col. Jacobo Arbenz Guzman. In the worst days of the Ubico dictatorship before the revolution of 1944, the average agricultural wage had been 15c a day. After three years of Castillo's "freedom" a labor inspector reported that the man Castillo appointed head of the Cattle Bureau in the Ministry of Agriculture was paying his farm hands 12c a day.

PURIFIED UNIONS: Protests repeatedly boiled up and Castillo regularly imposed a state of siege decrying new communist dangers. On May Day, 1956, Castillo tried for a show of popular support. He subsidized the annual labor parade with $6,500, announcing it openly. Some 3,000 unionists took his banners and paraded to the park in front of the Palace. But when Castillo's labor lieutenants began their May Day addresses, the crowd booed and whistled them down. Men known to be unionists in the Arbenz days were put on the speakers' stand and the crowd cheered their blasts at Castillo's labor policy.

All trade unions were broken up when Castillo came to power. They were allowed to reorganize only on proof of anti-communism. In 1952 there were 533 trade unions. In 1956 there were only 44. No union could demand the rehiring of fired workers. Unions were banned outright on all public works, including everything from roads to schools.

Canard Enchaine, Paris
PHYSICAL CULTURE

Farm-worker organizations were forbidden except on plantations of more than 500 workers. After the May Day fiasco of '56 Mario Mencos, head of one of the official labor federations, complained: "Employers have gone on a rampage of oppression, dismissals and violations of legal rights of workers . . . The persecution of peasants by farm owners in the countryside is alarming and based on the lack of defense and support by the authorities." The government became anti-Indian in an Indian countryside.

BED-MATE: Protests were answered with a warning that "the era of tolerance" was over and a threat to use "violence to defend our cause." In June, 1956, the students took to the streets. Castillo's machine guns opened up. Three students were killed and 18 wounded, including one girl. Another state of siege was clamped down. Editors went into exile; students and workers went to jail. President Castillo was described as going to bed with his "Chabelita"—his "little Isabel"—his .45 caliber revolver.

By the fall of '56 the labor courts, which in Arbenz' days had given employers a tough time, were a scandal. The **Christian Science Monitor** reported that in two years' time the railway unions had brought 158 labor conflicts to the labor courts and had won only one.

The labor courts were heavily staffed with Castillo's friends. In many instances these turned out to be friends also of the most prominent employers. For example, after Jorge Arenales left his post as Castillo's Minister of Economics and Labor he became a well-paid consultant for the United Fruit Co., Grace Lines, Taca Airways and a subsidiary of the American and Foreign Power Co.

COSTS UP, WAGES DOWN: In September, 1956, Andrew McLellan, the representative in Guatemala of ORIT, the Latin-American section of the militantly anti-communist Fedn. of Free Trade Unions, reported that in two years only six labor contracts had been signed, all with foreign companies, none with a Guatemalan employer. He blamed restrictive legislation and "unfavorable reactionary elements in the government and labor courts which appear to be biased in favor of management."

Though millions of dollars continued to pour into the country and living costs rose steadily, wages, particularly on the farms, continued to drop. Minister of Labor Manuel Villacorta admitted that wages were falling in 75% of the nation's farms. He said last February: "The cuts have spread all through the country as landowners hear that others are getting away with it."

In this year's May Day statement the Trade Union Council said: "Conditions in the countryside, in industry and in commerce are similar only to the anguished times of need we went through before our glorious revolution in October, 1944." It was then that Ubico's dictatorship was overthrown and the way opened for the reform administrations of Arevalo and Arbenz. The Council refused to participate in this year's government-controlled May Day celebration, a surprising rebellion from a movement which itself started as government-controlled.

LUMBER, OIL AND EXILE: In other respects business looked better at the Palace. In his three years of office Castillo had leased gigantic forest tracts to U.S. lumber companies, principally the Robinson Lumber Co. of New Orleans and the Fricker Mahogany Co. of Pensacola. Close to 5,000,000 acres had been granted to U.S. oil companies. In 1955 alone the United Fruit Co. made a profit of $1,700,000, paying $500,000 to the Guatemalan national treasury.

Castillo had to exile some of his partners in the liberation like Col. Elfego Monzon who had bid for power shortly after victory. The President tangled with the Church, too, as it strove to recover some of the power and prestige it had lost long before Arevalo, when Church and State were separated. Archbishop Mariano Rossel y Arellano had warned: "You have not expelled the communists from Guatemala in order to dispute the rights of the workers, to deprive them of their natural rights in the land they cultivate or to strip them of their just social gains."

THE DABBLER: Last June another crisis was under way. The students were planning to mark the anniversary of the '56 demonstration in which three were killed. They were demanding the rights of an opposition party in Congressional elections set for next November. Castillo answered with an announcement that new plots were being discovered and a state of siege was threatened.

That state of siege was declared after his death. The Army took control. In the early morning hours of July 27 the officers resisted the temptation to create a junta and swore in the next-in-line to the Presidency, vice-president of the Congress Luis Arturo Gonzales Lopez. He will serve as provisional president until elections in December. He is a former lawyer and judge and long-time friend of Castillo. The N.Y. **Times** profiled him:

"One of the new President's favorite and most profitable pastimes is dabbling in real estat- "

"IT IS THE CAUSE, AND NOT THE DEATH, THAT MAKES THE MARTYR."
—NAPOLEON I

Guatemala's assassinated President Castillo Armas (r.) will not be mourned for long by the farm workers whose wages dropped from $1 a day to 12c during his three-year administration. With him are his wife and successor Vice President Luis Arturo Gonzales Lopez at a recent state function.

Dixiecrats on top

(Continued from Page 1)

committee to iron out the differences.

No one was predicting last week what the House would do, although civil rights leaders in that chamber had warned throughout the four-week Senate debate that the changes made in the upper house would not be acceptable to them. Many felt that the House and Senate differences are irreconcilable and that no civil rights legislation will be adopted this year or next. Some believed that President Eisenhower would veto if the Senate version of the bill were adopted. Others thought that some compromise might be worked out.

THE LAST WORD: Many were convinced that no bill at all would be better than the Senate's; the Southern Conference Educational Fund in an ad in the Washington **Post** declared that "it would be better not to pass any civil rights legislation at all than to pass a bill which limits the power of courts to enforce their orders." The ad was signed by 82 prominent Southerners.

President Eisenhower at his press conference the day before the crucial Senate vote opposed the jury trial amendment and said: "I support the bill as it now stands, earnestly, and I hope that it will be passed soon." He added: "That is my last word on civil rights." Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) commented that the President has "done civil rights vastly more harm than good with his incomprehensible vacillation and equivocation. I, personally, would much rather have him spend all his time on the golf course and forget civil rights entirely than continue his on-again, off-again attitude in regard to this bill. We were informed by his press conference yesterday that he has said his 'last word' on civil rights. At this stage of the game, I can only say: Thank God for that."

NAACP DISTURBED: After the vote the President had more words on civil rights and called the Senate action "bitterly disappointing." He was reported to be angrier than at any other time during his Administration, but Sen. Knowland (R-Calif.), who had breakfast with him the morning of the vote, said he saw no veto threat in the President's statement.

Knowland, himself, saw the bill as "better than nothing at all." Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) also thought "there are still useful features in the bill. It is better than nothing." Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) said the bill "does represent a significant step forward, and, properly administered, can serve usefully to protect civil rights."

But Roy Wilkins, exec. secy. of the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, was less hopeful: "We are disturbed about the role of these Northern and Western Senators who voted to refuse meaningful Federal aid to Southern Negro citizens who have been struggling for 75 years to enjoy the right to vote freely."

THE VOICE OF LABOR: John L. Lewis, head of the independent United Mine Workers, and the heads of 12 railroad brotherhoods, ten of them affiliated with the AFL-CIO, were credited with a last-minute switch in some Senate votes to endorse the jury trial amendment. The AFL-CIO took a less-than-staunch stand. It repeated an earlier declaration against "crippling trial-by-jury amendments" but on the specific amendment adopted it had this to say:

"The AFL-CIO cannot and will not permit itself to judge the appropriateness of this proposed change . . . because of any possible advantages to organized labor. We believe the Congress would be better advised to handle separately and thoroughly the whole question of contempt proceedings and make whatever changes in the law which thorough study dictate."

OPPOSE RETAIL PRICE INCREASE

N.Y. milk farmers to strike against wealthy middlemen

THE FARMERS UNION of the New York Milk Shed has announced a milk strike to begin Wed., Aug. 14. The farmers seek a more equitable share of the spread between the 7 cents a quart paid to farmers and the 27 cents or more charged the consumer. A poll conducted by the Union among its own membership and a cross section of New York's 44,500 milk producers indicated 90% in favor of strike action.

The farmers have been stung into action by a new application of the federal milk regulation order which will penalize far upstate producers, and by profit figures just published showing National Dairy Products with a record profit high after taxes for the first six months of 1957, of $22,400,000 as against $21,100,000 for the same period in 1956; and Bordens at $11,400,000 as against $10,700,000 for the same period in 1956.

OPPOSE RISE TO CONSUMER: As a long range objective the Farmers Union seeks $7 a hundredweight for milk as compared with $3.72 received for June. Practically, since a milk strike can seldom last more than a week or ten days because of farm costs, the farmers will settle for whatever improvement they can win in that time.

The Union opposes price increases to the consumer as a means of paying more to the farmer but milk dealers throughout the state have already begun raising the price of milk as much as 5 cents a quart.

Labor Fact Book 13 out

AT TWO-YEAR intervals since 1931 the Labor Research Assn. has been bringing out its **Labor Fact Books.** These are condensed reference volumes aimed at supplementing almanacs and similar source books with information of special interest to labor and progressives. In **Labor Fact Book 13,*** for the first time since 1947, a special section is devoted to the Negro people. Economic trends, farmers, labor and civil liberties are also given chapters, with a concluding summary entitled "Political Action." Times have changed in 26 years and some of the more significant changes are honestly reflected in this last chapter. In a sub-section on "Socialist Minority Parties," their activities in the years 1955 and 1956 are adequately summarized in just two and one-half small pages. A good index makes this handy compilation easy to use.—R. J.

**LABOR FACT BOOK 13 prepared by Labor Research Assn. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y. 160 pp. Popular edition $2., trade edition $2.50.*

CALENDAR

Los Angeles

THE PROGRESSIVE BOOKSHOP announces 3 most timely lectures by **VICTOR PERLO.** Mon., Aug. 19, 8 p.m., "The Empire of High Finance." Wed., Aug. 21, 8 p.m., "Bankers & Bombers in Calif." Fri. Aug. 23, 8 p.m., "Wall Street, Washington & War." Questions and discussion. Embassy Auditorium, South Hall, 9th & Grand. Admission 50 cents.

ATTEND EMERGENCY MEETING, Friday, Aug. 16, Channing Hall, Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8 St. Support right of political asylum in Mexico for five Spanish sailors. Hear **A. L. WIRIN** and others give complete and factual presentation of the case to date. Auspices American Civil Liberties Union Defense Council.

VICTOR PERLO
"THE EMPIRE OF HIGH FINANCE"
Sunday, Aug. 18th, 1:00 P.M.
50c Donation
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
2936 W. 8th Street

Minneapolis

"WHAT'S BEHIND THE NEW KREMLIN SHAKE-UP?" Speaker: **V. R. DUNNE.** Sat., Aug. 17, 8:30 P.M., 322 Hennepin Ave., Mpls. Ausp: Twin Cities Branch, Socialist Workers Party.

New York

MAINSTREAM STARLIGHT FORUM
8:30 P.M.
SUNDAY, AUGUST 11
DR. ALPHAEUS HUNTON speaks on his new book
"DECISION IN AFRICA"
Contribution $1.25
Refreshments
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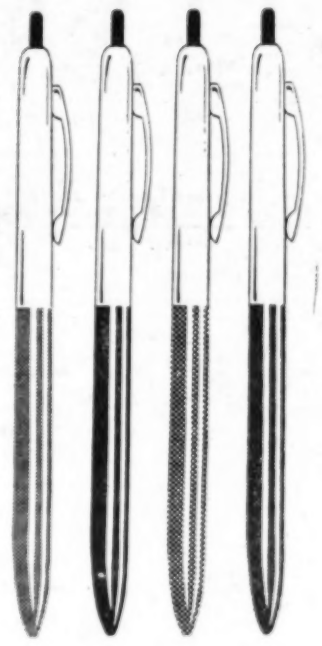

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Painless childbirth

PARIS

THE YOUNG WOMAN in the Delivery Room, waiting to give birth to her child, smiled at the nurse. "Would you mind shifting my legs into a different position? I am getting a little uncomfortable this way. . . ."

Her voice came lightly and easily. Her smile was not forced, her face was not distorted. A small wrinkle—sign of strain—was being gently smoothed away by the nurse each time it appeared on her forehead.

"That's much better—thanks very much," said Jacqueline. Then, interrupting herself: "I must breathe again. . . ." she broke into a spell of hasty short-paced breathing. "Like a little dog," the doctor had told her during her instruction course, and he had made her practice at home before a lighted candle which she had to make flicker without putting it out.

Breathing was part of the lesson Jacqueline had learned to help her bring her child into the world without pain.

The sequence is not utopia. It is what goes on in hundreds of maternity clinics all over France every day. It is called "Childbirth Without Pain," and it is the kind of miracle that makes every one associated with it very proud—the kind of miracle that counts neither on the supernatural nor on the subconscious. It is the result of another step forward in man's knowledge. Its tools are reason, learning, and the conscious efforts of intelligence and willpower. Its rewards: A new dignity to woman, no longer victim but master of her body: a new freedom for her—freedom from pain, freedom from the fear of pain.

Reynolds News, London
"The stalk brought you, my dear."

IT ALL STARTED IN RUSSIA half a century ago with Pavlov's new theory on conditioned reflexes. Pavlov's work opened a new approach to the study of pain, its exploration, its analysis. It was soon found that, linked closely to conditioned reflexes, pain in certain cases can be made to be felt where there is no pain; that in others, it can be shut out where it actually exists.

After the first world war, a group of Soviet gynecologists, among them Nikolajev and Velvoski, collaborators and followers of Pavlov, tried to apply the new knowledge about pain to their particular field. They found that pain could be eliminated in about 90% of all cases of normal childbirth. But it was not until 1950 that painless childbirth became a clinical reality. In general practice in the Soviet Union since that time, the new method was brought back from Moscow by a Paris gynecologist some five years ago. From its first French center, the clinic of the Paris Metalworker's Union, it has spread across the country. Increasing numbers of doctors, nurses and midwives are being trained in the new technique. But its success is not up to the medical staff alone. It calls for the intelligent, confident participation of the pregnant woman.

PAINLESS CHILDBIRTH sends the prospective mother back to school for a full-scale psychological and physiological course. A series of classes she attends toward the end of her pregnancy helps her first of all to get rid of the age-old superstition, handed down by generations of women, confirmed by the Scriptures, that childbirth and pain are eternally linked by God, Nature and Fate.

She learns all about her own body during pregnancy and childbirth, for ignorance is one of the worst fear breeders. She learns also a new breathing technique and a new muscular control that will help her act and react correctly during each phase of her delivery, and cancel out pain. She learns that painless childbirth will be her job and her achievement, controlled and directed by her. Giving birth will no longer be an ordeal she must passively submit to: it is by her own will and force and effort that she will bring her child into the world.

IT IS TIME FOR JACQUELINE to show she has learned her lesson. The doctor has come in. Jacqueline has begun to breathe rapidly again. All her intelligence, all her strength are concentrated on what is happening in and around her.

"You are approaching the final phase," explains the doctor. "Now do what I tell you to."

"I am listening," says Jacqueline.

"Turn your head a little to the right," directs the doctor. "Now . . . try to push . . . push . . . and keep breathing . . . go on . . . that's fine . . . now . . . go on . . . go on . . . go . . . go. . . go."

The doctor's voice beats a strong, compelling, ever faster rhythm. There is dramatic intensity in the seconds that follow. Only the doctor's commands are heard now, and Jacqueline breathing in an extreme effort. Then a moment's silence. And then Jacqueline's voice, new, light and slightly incredulous: "But . . . I feel nothing—no pain at all. This is marvellous . . . marvellous. . . ."

"It's a girl," the doctor announces, and we have come the full circle to conventional language again.

—ANNE BAUER